2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

551 This account agrees in details with my own information but is widely at variance on the fundamental point of the range of application of the prohibition. My informants stated emphatically that it applied only to a close group of husband's relatives; in practice, to the occupants of the ylken yj (father's house) and the several otav (junior houses) which would usually surround it, involving the husband's father, mother, unmarried sisters, brothers, brothers' wives and children. Such a group would usually consist of about fifteen or twenty people. Within it the wife might not use the name of any of the husband's male relatives nor those of his mother and sister. Nor might she address by name the wife of an elder brother of her husband although the wife of an elder brother might use the name of a younger brother's wife. Samoilovich's statement that a wife may not use the name of the children of the husband's elder male relatives may, according to my information, be somewhat extended to include the son of the husband's younger brother, provided this son were born before her marriage occurred. Samoilovich also mentions the prohibition on using the name of an elder brother's wife which would not hold true if the wives of the two brothers were sisters.[46]

Levshin, in a footnote,[46] says that the husband would never use his wife's name in speaking to another person. I do not know of any other reference to such an avoidance.

606 Actual personal avoidance seems to have existed only in a rather attenuated form. Radlov[47] says that the daughter-in-law must not look her husband's older relatives directly in the face and must always give precedence to them.[48] My informants said that it was perfectly correct for the father and daughter-in-law to see one another and converse together although she must of course "behave herself properly."

582 Information on the terminology of kinship which might be expected to throw light on the limits of the group within which marriage is prohibited is at present contradictory and incomplete. In general there seems to have been a great variation in the range of application of kinship terms denoting relatives among whom one might not marry.

A possible interpretation of the apparent conflict between generation and group exogamy may be reserved for later discussion.

SEXUAL IRREGULARITIES

836 Kazak views of sexual morality were on the whole quite rigid. Virginity was expected
585 of a bride and the lack of it usually entailed a relinquishment of at least a part of the kalym (bride price) by her father. Levshin[49] says that to the bridal tent

> . . . on attache un cheval couvert d'un harnais de parade et une robe. Le matin, si l'époux a trouvé sa femme chaste et innocente, il met la robe . . . s'élance sur le cheval et arrive triomphant chez

[46] Here again there is a conflict. Grodekov writes (*Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 28–29) that two brothers would never marry two sisters. Kargabaiev said this frequently occurred.

[47] *Description des hordes*, 356.

[48] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480.

[48] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[49] *Description des hordes*, 361–62.

2: Hudson 2-4, 5 (1938) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

son beau-père, où l'attendent les compliments et les félicitations . . . . Si, au contraire, le mari n'a pas trouvé sa femme dans l'état d'innocence, il a le droit de tuer le cheval, de déchirer la robe, de briser la tente à coups de sabre, et après avoir ainsi couvert d'ignominie l'impudente, il peut exiger du père ou le kalym acquitté ou une autre de ses filles, et sans aucun payement.

Levshin mentions in passing that these vigorous manifestations of feeling had in his day lost a great deal of their force.[50]

A certain tacit social sanction, however, was given to pre-marital sex relations with a fiancée by the custom of permitting a man who had already paid the greater part of the kalym to visit his betrothed secretly at night in a kibitka set up for her by her brothers and sisters.[51] He was expected, however, to depart early in the morning before the parents of the girl emerged from their own dwelling. His early departure was of course a gesture to convention because the girl's parents naturally knew of the extra kibitka and their daughter's absence from their own. Radlov adds that this arrangement gave the girl opportunity to carry on love affairs with other young men of neighboring auls.

It is difficult to get detailed information on illegitimacy. My informants said there would not be any; the girl would always get married. Tlenshiev finally said that the child might be aborted or exposed on the steppe "so that her parents would not know." How they were kept ignorant during the period of pregnancy is not clear but it is obvious that to bear a child out of marriage or certainly without being betrothed was considered a disgrace.

Rudenko[52] writes that women rarely resort to abortion. When they do they drink an infusion of herbs with mercury or construct a small type of sweat house in which mercury is thrown over red-hot stones. The vapor of the mercury is supposed to produce the desired effect. One of my informants said that the mullah performed abortions but the others scoffed at the idea.

Grodekov[53] confirms the information about the rarity of illegitimacy.

It is impossible to say anything about the illegitimate children of young girls, because in the steppes all young girls go out and get married. In the Kazalinsk district they bury them [the children] in the ground.

Elsewhere Grodekov reports that an unmarried girl who bears a child will marry the father of the child. Her relatives are usually able to claim from him at least a part of the bride price and if she is young, beautiful and of good family perhaps the whole amount.[54]

Adultery, by the old Mongol code[55] and also by the Kazak code credited to the Khan

[50] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.
[51] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477.
[52] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[53] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 97.
[54] See Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.
[55] Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 57.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

commercial transaction amounting to the sale of the daughter by the father. Some evidence 583
in support of this view may be found in Zaleskie's statement:[77]

> According to ancient customs a kalym was intended to serve as the dowry of the young wife; today, on the contrary, especially among the poor, it has become the exclusive property of the father who gives to his daughter only a certain number of dresses and household utensils.

It may be noted here that in discussing marriage negotiations and the arrangement of the bride price my interpreter always employed the Russian verb prodavat' (to sell) in relation to the father's disposal of his daughter.

My information indicates that the practice of sending dowries along with the bride to the camp of her husband was largely restricted to the upper classes, though it might sometimes occur in a very modest way among poorer people. The principal feature of such dowries was a kibitka with furnishings for the young wife. She might also be accompanied by maidservants who were slaves, The dowry, including the slaves, was considered the [567]
property of the woman, and in case of divorce should be returned with her to her father. Many husbands, however, were not scrupulous about carefully distinguishing between their wives' property and their own. Moreover, from Grodekov's sources it appears that the dowry might be considered as belonging to the husband because in divorcing a wife who has committed no fault "he is obliged to restore to her a part of the goods which she has brought with her at marriage."[78]

Marriage ceremonies, which varied greatly in character and complexity according to 585
the locality and the social status of the families involved, have been described by many authors.[79] My information contributes nothing new to these accounts.

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

Marriages might be terminated by mutual consent, at the command of the husband or, 586
in certain cases, at the wish of the wife. According to my informants, however, the dissolution of marriage among the rich was very rare, apparently because of the large amounts of kalym involved and the disputes that were sure to arise over its disposition if the union were terminated. The poorer people were much freer to separate.

The husband might divorce his wife for sterility,[80] adultery, lack of proper respect and discipline and sometimes because he had found her not a virgin at marriage. All of these reasons were sufficient cause for the return of all or part of the kalym which had been given for her. He might also, it appeared, simply refuse to support her and return her to her parents because he found her generally unsatisfactory. In such cases there was always a conflict over the restitution of the bride price. Hence it was to the advantage of the bride's

[77] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[78] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

[79] Divaev, *O Svadebnom Rituale*, 1–27; Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 101–10; see also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 360–61; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 24; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477–84.

[80] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

the dishonor.

When the payment of the kalym is finished, the groom begins to go to the bride at her father's house, and she realizes that he is incapable of marital relations, she refuses to marry him as a result. Then respected persons give the groom over to be examined, and if in the course of a year this is not rectified, the bride is given the right to marry another, and the kalym paid by the groom is returned to him.

If a father betrothes his daughter in her childhood and receives the kalym for her, and upon reaching maturity she does not wish to marry her fiance, and her father does not wish it either, she still cannot go away from him unless the groom says that he does not want her for himself. /58/ In such a case the girl's father pays the kalym received from him and in addition a fine of twenty-seven animals, beginning with a camel and ending with sheep and goats.

If a girl who was betrothed in her infancy runs away with some young man after reaching maturity, then the latter must give her former groom a girl or else pay the bride price.

In general, according to customary law, the saying of a prayer [585] and the reception of the kalym are equivalent to a wedding.

In consequence of disagreement (oraz), the groom either becomes engaged to another girl or goes away for a long period of time. In the first case the previous bride is offended. The groom explains to her he will marry her after the other girl, but she does not wish to be the servant of others and returns the kalym minus 1 or 2 animals (kara). In the second case the girl's father loses patience and betrothes the girl to another. Then the groom appears and demands "either the kalym or the wife." The girl's father must give up the kalym with a fine of atton /a horse and a coat/.

The determination of the fine for breaking off the betrothal by one of the sides is completely dependant on the biis. If the refusal was caused, for example, by non-payment of the kalym, the fine is usually smaller. In general, if someone quits in the course of the payment of the kalym in installments, he pays a biilyk, and the sum which has been paid is returned minus one horse and one camel.

The choosing of the bride depends on the groom's father, who sends a stranger (khalis adam) in the capacity of a yauchi, so as not to expose himself to accidents which might spoil the whole affair. The yauchi begins the conversation, saying: "You have a falcon, we have a gerfalcon" (sizde iashin bar iken bizde sunkar bar iken).

daughter is not given away to the groom until the full payment of the kalym, guarding against the groom's failure to fulfill his promise [585] concerning the remaining payment of the kalym. It is now becoming customary (Auliye-Ata uyezd) that after finishing the payment of the kalym the groom comes to receive the bride at night, and goes away secretly without celebrating a wedding. In the Kurama uyezd the poor do this, regaling those who are invited with only one kettle of groats (butka). In this case it is self-evident that they dispense with toymal (1)

1. The Kazakh Khudaykul of the Kurama uyezd has paid the kalym and toymal short of one mare. The father of his bride is advising him, out of covetousness, to give him one horse and take the bride away secretly. But Khudaykul is demanding the arrangement of a wedding on the toymal received, promising to provide the remaining mare.

/cf. table of kalyms, chapter VI/.[1]

According to bii Sultan and Makovetskii, when the groom departs for the oruntoy, he takes with him one fellow-traveller - kuyau yuldasy (Makovetskii has otagasy), - who accompanies him the entire time of the oruntoy, and also 5-10 riders, to transport the elyu, bosaga elyu, uigekerer and dzhirtys. The riders return at once when they have delivered the property and received kiit for it. The groom remains with the travelling companion in the tent of the father or uncle of the bride, and among the rich in a tent specially prepared for him. Sometimes a special tent is prepared for the companion. Then the matchmakers who encounter the groom on horseback or on foot ask for a gift for their "weariness" (intik ber) from preparing the tent. For leading the groom into the tent they ask for a gift again (chatyrbay-gazysy). Then the manager of the gifts (kade), the groom's travelling companion, distributes them, depending on the degree of kinship. The first and best gift is presented to the mother of the bride. After her is the bride's grandmother, etc. The uigekerer, for the entrance into the tent, consists /65/ of a camel or a horse. The uidzhirtys is entrusted in entirety to the mother of the bride for distribution "in the house." The auldzhirtys is given to the most respected woman "from the village," for distribution to the others. When the women announce that the gifts are inadequate, the groom sends his companion back for new gifts. After this the celebration of the oruntoy begins, continuing for one day. The bride is hidden somewhere, and the mistress of the house where she is hidden receives a kyz kashar gift for giving her up, consisting of cloth

1 [cf cat 116, pp 69-76 - A]

584

the groom, and also songs and kikbure races, arranged by the bride's father, from the yasyryn kelyu, which is the visit preceding the full payment of the kalym.

585

A wedding can be performed in all months except the months of Safarai and Urazai (month of fasting) of the lunar calendar.

As opposed to the oruntoy celebration, the wedding feast, after which the bride is allowed to leave, is called the feast of giving leave (uzatatugun toy). The poor do not arrange an oruntoy but have the feast of giving leave directly.

The groom rides to the celebration of the wedding, taking place in the village of the bride's father, on a decorated horse with a travelling companion (yuldas), who carries sutakky with him for the bride's mother, a changarak for the new tent, door jambs and half of the necessary pieces of felt, as well as other gifts. The new tent is not put up at once, and sometimes not for a month, because it is necessary to buy appurtenances for it. The rich bride dons a headdress (saukale, among the Kirgiz shaukale). The groom appears before the bride's father in a coat with long sleeves. As he bows low before the bride's father, the bride's mother, the bride's brother and the latter's wife (yenge), the sleeves touch the ground. As he straightens up he passes his hands over his knees.

The bride's father, having received 7 or 8 coats, called toy dzhirtys, and one mare, provides regalement (as). The elders (kar'-yaler) sit, are given food and drink and watch the young men (boz-balalar) race kukbure. The prize on this day is a slaughtered kid, called sagulak. In the evening the girls gather in a tent other than the tent of the bride's father. The door is closed but the felts are raised all around. Outside /Inserted page. Bride wearing headdress. Drawing by Akhmatov./ /67/ sit the young men. A singing (ulen) contest begins between the young men and the girls. The young men sing together by twos. In order to prevent arguments, the older ones ask all the young men to sing in turn (kezek). The girls give a ring (sakyna) to the good singers, bracelets (bilezuk) and money. The girls are given dried apricots, flat cakes, etc. The elders listen to the singing.

The first day of the wedding is called the day of "the closing of the tent", otau dzhabar, in distinction from the "great feast" (ul'-kun toy). For closing the tent the women receive gifts, otau dzhabar. For muyuntastar (1) they receive a sheep which they divide.

1. Muyuntastar is the throwing of a sheep's neck through the

1 [Not reproduced -- A]

•585

tyundyuk /the felt covering the changarak at the top of the tent/, so that the new tent will not be smoky.

In the morning of the second day there is a kukbure race. (2)

2. In general the young men demand kukbure at every toy, before and after the baiga /horse race/. If they are refused, they threaten to tear down the tyundyuk from the tent, for the shame of the householder. (Bii Sultan Kanaev).

The kid with this is simply called ulak.

The festivity of this day (toy) goes in the same order as on the preceding day. But this time the women wish to amuse themselves and to take the bride away from the midst of her girl friends, where she is taking part in the singing. The girls defend their friend who is their same age, and the women take her away by force (tartady). This ritual is called taking away by force (tartis). Finally the women tie up the bride by force in a rug and carry her away, accompanied by the whimpering girls (singsiydy), who receive one or two pieces of cloth, called "for the taking", alym. The bride is thus carried into the tent of the bride's father, where a couch (tusek) has been prepared for the groom behind the bed curtains (shimildyk), with a white scarf (nikeyaulyk) (3) spread on it. The women demand

3. Cf. Supplement No. 4: yar-yar and audzhar.

that the groom lift the bride himself and carry her to the bed. The groom refuses to do this, saying that it is shameful for a man to lift a woman. Then one of the strong women lifts the bride for a gift called kyzkuterer. The girls go away, but the women remain in order to listen (tynglab turady) outside. Afterwards they take/68/ the blood-stained scarf (nikeyaulyk) to the parents of the bride, with the words: "Your daughter is chaste, God has been merciful, give syuyunchi" (kyzyng kyz iken, kuday yarlykab kaldy, syuyunchi ber). If the husband proves to be insolvent, he pays the aunts the value of one horse.

If the bride proves to be unchaste, the groom can have cause for complaint, saying that he paid the kalym for a maiden and not a woman (kyzga mal bergen men, khatynga mal bergenim yok). For this the bride's father is liable to a fine, which was formerly up to three toguz, and now up to an atton (a horse and a coat), but

they do not pardon it regardless. (Torgai). 585

If the groom himself causes the bride to lose her innocence at the oruntoy, he informs the matchmakers who spread out the nikeyaulyk of this, and in such a case they demand gifts for themselves, resorting to a threat which is never carried out, namely, to rip open the belly of his horse. (Bii Sultan).

If the groom is impotent (yaramisa), they wait three days. 586 After that if the bride does not like the groom, she can use this as a pretext to announce that she will not marry him (tiymeymen). Then her father returns the kalym to the amount determined by the biis.

On the following day, for the first time during the day, the bride's father and mother invite the groom to their tent. He does not sit in the tur /place of honor/ but remains in the corner between the first and second cross pieces (yabsar - corner, link). He is given the sheep's breast (tus) to eat. The guests appear with food and receive money from the groom in empty cups (tabak). (Torgai).

According to Irsbek, among the Tashkent Kazakhs no wedding can dispense with the religious ceremony /venchanie/ (nika), for which the groom provides the payment, nikakyyar, 40 kopeks to the imam and 2 rubles to the bii. According to Daulet Bushaev, they give the mullah, depending on their station, 1 sheep and 40 kopeks, or 4 rubles, 40 kopeks in money, or another gift. According to Mikebai, the bii does not take a gift, anyway as a guest. The mullah receives eki bauly chapan "a coat with two fastenings", i.e., one coat, or eki tisti tusak, "a female ewe with two teeth", or 4 rubles. /69/ The rich give more. Only half this sum is given for a widow.

In the Kazalinsk uyezd the wedding ritual /brakosochetanie/ takes place in the following manner. While the prayers are read water is poured into a cup. The girl being married throws either earrings or a silver ring into it, and covers the vessel with a white kerchief. The groom fastens a stick in the form of an arrow to the edge of the cup with the white kerchief. After the prayers the bride takes back the object thrown into the cup, and thereafter preserves it as a pledge of happiness. One of the witnesses of the wedding (1) takes the cup

1. There must be one from each side.

and holds it in his hands in such a way that the fingers on the brim do not join on top. In this space husband and wife put their lips in turn (the husband first) and drink the water. Then the cup is passed

585

into the hands of all those present, who drink from it without touching their lips to that place where the wedding couple drank. The white kerchiefs go to the witnesses. (2)

2. Communication from E. A. Aleksandrov.

According to Makovetskii, Pt. I, p. 11, the wedding ritual is performed only after the actual departure of the wedding couple, according to bii Sultan, it occurs before the ritual otausalar. It consists of the reading of the blessing "amin allaakbar" by the mullah. The bride, her girl companions and other women are behind a curtain, while the groom and two witnesses or warrentors (gua, vakil) sit in the middle of the tent, one witness on each side of him, with the family and other guests, without a curtain (in contradiction to Makovetskii). The witnesses, or according to Makovetskii the mullah, asks the groom if he is agreed to take in marriage (zhupti klyb aluga) such and such (giving her name) a daughter of so and so (the name of the father) and so and so (the name of the mother). The groom answers that he is agreed (kabyl kyldym, kabyl tuttim). Then they turn to the bride with the same question and receive a similar answer. After this /70/ the mullah reads the prayer called khutba. A cup (ayak) is brought in containing pure water in which they leave money, rings or something similar for the witnesses. The mullah consecrates it by blowing on it (dem salady), and then the witnesses carry it to the groom, the bride and the guests, each of whom takes a sip. At this time the groom and bride must touch the cup in the same place, which designates their unity symbolically. The mullah is usually given not less than 40 kopeks, but this payment (nikakyyar) is not obligatory. The village bii, who is informed of the wedding, also asks for nikakyyar and also receives something.

After the end of the ritual, the relatives turn to the newlyweds with instructions for a peaceful life. They say to the groom: "We have put the bone (i. e., your kinswoman) into your hands, treat her well, do not torment her nor beat her, and do not scold without fault" (kulyngyza br suyak berdik, muny yaksylab kutib bagyngyz azar berib urma, bi vadzh yaman syuilemengyz). They tell the bride: "Live in such a way that they will not curse me"(balam dzhaman bolma a... a... atalga nalet kelterersen). Then the bride departs with the mother and the best man of the groom, while the groom remains to eat and to say farewell to the bride's father, and overtakes the procession (bii Sultan).

Now let us turn to a listing of the gifts which the groom is obliged to give the women:

1) Sutakky, to the bride's mother for nursing at the breast, is a camel or a horse, but no less than a good coat at 4 rubles. In the Perovsk uyezd the rich give 10 camels, and the poor a good animal at 40 rubles, or the same amount in money (Torgai).

2) Baldyz kurimdik - a keepsake for the bride's sister (baldyz). This gift is presented at the time of orunbargan, and in any case before the wedding, or otherwise the baldyz will take offense.

3) Yengetai - to the wife of the bride's brother, or the wife of that closest kinsman of the bride who follows after her father. The amount is similar to the preceding gifts.

4) Sauka lening baygazysy. The bride's headdress /71/ is put on by some woman who appears before the groom to receive a gift, a coat or a shirt, for giving up the headress to the bride.

5) Otau dzhabar - For the uncovered tent given by the bride's father the groom provides felts, and for covering the tent with felts he gives the women one animal.

6) Endikimdik - For the weariness of the women who ran and got out of breath (endikib kelgen) when the groom arrived, a gift of 20 or 40 kopeks.

7) Atbaylar - for tying up the horse - is a gift of 9 pieces of clothing (toguzkiim) or 3 pieces of matting. The women divide this among themselves.

8) Tyusek salar - for laying the bed for the oruntoy.

9) Shimildyk baylar - for tying back the bed curtains.

10) Kolustartar - for delivering the bride into the hands of the groom at the oruntoy.

11) Shashsipatar - for the right to smooth the hair of the bride.

12) Kurpa kamyltartar - for moving the bedcovers.

13) Ityrilder - for chasing off the dog that snarled at the groom. (1)

1. A woman who sits at the threshold of the tent portrays the dog.

14) Bakansaldymdik - for opening the tyundyuk /the felt over the top part of the tent/.

15) Muyuntastar - for the throwing of the sheep's neck through the tyundyuk by the women.

585
431

16) Arka yatar (not among all the Kazakhs) - for the departure of the woman lying behind the back of the bride.

17) Kyzkuterer - for lifting the bride on a rug.

18) Kempir ul'di - so that the old woman who has been hindering the union will pretend to be dead.

19) Kuyau attandyrar - for seating the groom on his horse.

/72/ 20) Kyz kashar - For bringing the bride in, after her flight to her kinsmen.

Each of the last gifts is worth 20 to 40 kopeks, while according to Irsbai (Tashkent Kazakh), a small piece of cloth is given, similar to a kerchief.

When the groom refuses to pay after his money is exhausted, the women say: "even if the horse should die of hunger, the customary gift ought not to perish" (at ulse de kada ulmeydi), for according to the proverb; the bride can be without a kalym but not without gifts (kalyngsiz kyz bulady, kadesiz bulmaydy).

If the groom gives nothing, the women tear the clothing of his companion. The young men of the bride's village, who threaten to kill the groom, receive a gift called mushe (1) from him, consisting of kerchiefs. The aksakal receives a coat at this time (Perovsk uyezd).

1. In Budagov's dictionary, it says under the word mushe that mushe basy "the chief gift", a silk coat or a horse, is presented to the eldest by birth, and he gives it to the sultan or to another Kazakh, older than himself. The remaining mushe are presented in succession to the younger clans. The last one - a scrap of silk material or calico - is grabbed by someone who races away. He is followed and the one who catches him receives it, so that it finally remains with the man who has the swiftest horse.

Among the Kirgiz, the relatives of the groom themselves drive animals to the home of the bride's father for the regalement of the guests, and arrange the entire feast. The women receive kishmish /raisins or seedless grapes/, pistachio nuts, and baursak from the groom. and the buyrek /kidney/, shirak and muche (yota yilik) from the slaughtered animal. The groom who does not give them this is called bad, and they shame him, but do not beat him. They entertain themselves with kukbure and baiga, and with the balalaika and zurna /stringed instrument and type of oboe/. The bride's father gives a sarypay for the zurna player /zurnaichi/of the groom and the groom's father. On the first day of the wedding the kukbure is not

585
431

called sagulak, as it is among the Kazakhs, but simply ulak. On the second day they slaughter an animal, called toy, they race the kubure, and in the evening they drink in the tent. The girls give the singers rings and kerchiefs. Then they go into the steppe for "the maiden's dance" (kyz uin), in the moonlight. Young married women seat /73/ the girls and young men back to back, and then force them to stand, permitting the young men to take the girls by the breast and kiss them. On the second day they eat the toy. In the evening the bride is placed with the groom in their tent (kyzdy otaulatty). The good groom keeps quiet about the unchastity of the bride. It is not customary for the women to show the bloodstained kerchief. Such is the communication of bii Daniyar, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd. (1)

1. The custom of looking for the blood on this night exists among the Alai Kirgiz, according to the communication of B. L. Grombchevskii. But the discovery of unchastity among the poorest class does not lead to complications. If the groom is richer and more prominent than the bride, the relatives of the groom rustle one or several horses from the bride's father and slaughter them as punishment for the father who did not preserve his daughter. This, of course, happens only if the one guilty for the loss of virginity is not the groom himself.

Before her departure from her father's village for the village of the groom, the bride goes around to all her acquaintances to say farewell (tanysady). Each one gives her something, of the sort of a ring or an animal. She does not give gifts in return. When the visiting is finished, the bride prepares for the journey on one of the propitious days, kunning saati. Monday, Wednesday and Friday are considered to be such days. Before the departure of his daughter, the father asks her: "What do you want for yourself from my house?" and gives her what she wants, according to her indication. If he refuses, the daughter is angry (azar bulady), and after she is in the house of the groom's father, she sends her husband to drive off livestock from [illegible]

The rich Kazakhs arrange a baiga or kukbure on the accompanying of the daughter (kyz uzatpak).

585
292

The new bride rides on a decorated animal, in festival attire, wearing the saukale /bridal headdress/ or the usual headdress of women (2), and covers her face with a long veil. The saukale is a

291 2. The headdress of women is white. It consists of a dzhauluk /woman's headdress of white calico/ twisted in the manner of a turban, and under this, completely covering the neck is a hood called kimechek, or instead of this a piece of cloth (ekche) tied around the face. Bii Sultan disapproves the wearing of the ekche in place of the kimechek. The long veil (dzhelek) is made of a piece of silk sufficient for two chemises.

586 high cone-shaped cap of felt, with red and black cloth stuck to it
292 inside and out, and richly decorated with fur, gold, silver, corals, pearls and stones. Several owl feathers are attached to the top of it, for /74/ protection against the evil eye, and at the bottom are several strings of corals and pearls, falling below the knee. The saukale is returned to the clan of the wife if she dies childless. The saukale is already going out of use. In its place they wear a simpler headdress called kasabe. The kasabe consists of a cone-shaped piece of felt on which white cloth is wound. The top of the cone, which is turned forward, is decorated with many-colored fringe of Kazakh make.

585 The wedding couple is accompanied by one man and the mother of the bride. If she is dead, the wife of the older brother (yenge) takes her place, and if there is none, then the elder brother goes himself.

As he approaches his own village, the groom rides ahead of the procession, in order to announce the coming of the bride (kelin or kelinchek). The groom's father arranges a kukbure race. The girls of the village go out 3 - 4 versts to meet the procession (aldynan shigady), to honor the bride (kelinning kuanysy). The girls take her off her horse and lead her on foot. They beg various trinkets from her, such as rings, bracelets, corals (mardzhan), necklaces (munchak) and coins which are specially strung for this.

The gift from the bride's mother for the kinswomen of the groom is called murundyk, i.e., for the bridle of the camel.

The bride is conducted into the tent of the groom's father, but they do not show her to him nor to the groom's mother (ene), but put her behind the bed curtians. This night and the following ones, up to three nights, she spends under the curtains with the girls, without her husband. They busy themselves with fortune-telling. On the morning of the fourth day, the ceremony is arranged for the uncovering of the face (betachar toy). If there is a singer (zhirchi), he puts a piece of matting called aktyk on the end of a stick and lifts the curtain for the bride, with verses in which he names all the relatives present, in order, obliging the bride to bow to each person. (1)

4:Grodekov--68 E-5 (ca 1885) 1889 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

1. Cf. Supplement No. 5.

585

The groom's father regales the guests and distributes to them something from the dowry, tyubetyeikas /skull caps/, etc., and arranges kukbure racing. After /75/ the departure of the guests, the girls of the village bring food and again each one begs something, a chest, a cushion, an amulet (tmar). This ritual is called congratulation (kuttuk), and people ride in to it from far away. Animals are given to those from a long distance. In the evening the bride melts fat-tail fat and smears her face with it, and brings the grooms father and mother respect (tazim) and a bow (salem).(1).

1. Communicated by Torgai.

In the Turkestan uyezd it is denied that the bride smears her face. There she only throws fat into the fire, in remembrance of the dead.

When the bride throws fat into the fire, the elders say: be of one accord, like fat (maydoy opatu bul). (Tashkent uyezd).

585
576

As long as the groom's father is alive, his daughter-in-law cannot be in or enter the honored corner (tur). Otherwise her legs will hurt. After the death of the groom's father, the daughter-in-law throws fat in the fire, and then she can be in the tur. (Tashkent uyezd).

The young groom does not avoid the wife's relatives, but visits them without restraint, for all the relatives of the bride, even those the same age, became acquainted with him at the wedding.

For one year the young bride does not go to her relatives "from shame" (uyalib), since now she is wearing not the girl's kerchief but the headdress of married women (yaulyk). She receives news of the health of her relatives and bits of news from her husband. Only in the case of the death of one of her relatives does she go to them to express her condolences (aza tutib).

A good bride both from shame and from respect (uyaladi, izzet klady) avoids the groom's father and all the kinsmen springing from him all her life, according to the proverb: the husband is not respected whose body is seen, the kinswoman is not respected whose face is seen (erding kadryn bil'meydi, etin kuredii, againdyng kadryn bil'meydi betin kuredi).

According to data reported from the Auliye-Ata uyezd, the young wife does not show herself to the older kinsmen of her husband in the third degree of kinship, all the way to the most remote clan affiliation.

affiliation.

585 /76/ Among the Kirgiz, the bride is seated behind the curtain at the groom's father's. The yenge says: "pay for a look" (kurumdigin ber). Those who like her give her something. The bride in the "large house" (chung uide), that is, in the house of the groom's father, greets the groom's father and mother and throws fat in the fire with the words: "May God have mercy on you. May the animal join you from behind. May children join you from in front. May the years of your life be long, both yours and the groom's". (1) In answer to this the groom's father

1. Ak yalgasyn! Artingdy mal bassyn, aldyngdy bala bassyn! Kuyauing ukeauing umri yashi bulsyn!

and mother pronounce a blessing (bata).

/77/ CHAPTER VI.

Kalym. - Number of wives. - The marriage of a widow. - Divorce. - Akymar. - The children of widows and divorced people. - The position of women. - The illegitimate children. - Birth and designation of names.

583 The payment for the bride or kalym (kalyn, kalyn mal) goes to the use of the person who reared her and married her, i. e., her father, kinsman, guardian, etc. The extent of the kalym differs greatly between rich and poor, and between beautiful and unattractive brides. (1) A larger kalym is demanded for a girl from widowers, than

1. They offered a deaf and dumb girl in Tashkent for 5 cows.

from men entering their first marriage. After the payment of the kalym, the groom still provides the toymal and the elyu before the day of the wedding. The bride's father adds the same amount himself to the toymal he receives, and from this he arranges the wedding feast and buys the wedding couple a tent, rugs, blankets, a fur coat, the bridal headdress, utensils, clothing and other parts of the dowry.

The elyu is an animal to carry the tent and the entire dowry.

The kalyms of the Perovsk uyezd, according to bii Mikebai Sultanaev,, consist of the following divisions:

/217 cont./

583 about the bride-money indicate that the groom's side pays it and
[556] the bride's side receives it. /ü Among the rich it goes up to 300 head, while among the poor it can happen that they give only one cow.

585 The wedding is made up of the following elements: the agreement and the processions of the parents, the groom's visit to the bride, the journey of the bride to the groom, and the prayer of the mullah. All this is arranged with various ceremonies and especially with gifts. /Illustration appears here./

585 After an unofficial agreement has been reached, the father
574 of the groom, with his rich and most illustrious kinsmen, rides to the parents of the bride. The guests are taken care of by the female relatives of the bride, who serve and look after the new arrivals. The latter must "buy themselves off" with gifts or witty conversation. If this is not forthcoming, the guests are threatened not only with mockery, but also danger. The women forcibly dress such guests in women's clothing, bathe them fully clothed in water, shave their moustaches and beards, harness them to vehicles, tie them to turning wheels, etc. All this is done
585 in the sight of the whole village. The father of the bride
[262] regales those who are present with the tastiest dish -- "kuyryuk-baur" (the best parts of the horse, fat-tail sheep fat, and liver, all covered with a sauce made of sheep's cheese /kurt/, called "zuzduk"). To eat this dish means to tie the first bridal knot.

/218/ After this visit, the father and kinsmen of the bride ride to the groom's father for the receipt of the bride-money or
[574] most of it. The arrival is accompanied by a small feast. When they depart the groom sends "uletry" to the village of the bride, which is horsemeat or other meat as a gift to the women of the village.

After the agreement and the payment of the bride-money, the groom receives the right to visit the bride. These visits have an essential importance, being the beginning of the mar-
[583] riage. Thus, in case of the death of the groom or bride after

/218 cont./

585 [583] they have had a rendezvous, all the bride-money is not returned, but only half, while before these rendezvous have taken place only a small part is withheld. If the groom thinks of marrying the sister of the bride after he has been with the bride, then he is obliged to pay a new portion of the bride-money. /Illustration appears here./ These visits must be innocent in character. If the bride is shown to be pregnant, it is considered a disgrace for

692
291
516

A meeting for the election of the volost biy on the steppe.

585 her and all her clan. The first visit of the groom is made with a quantity of gifts, and he is accompanied by his friends. A holiday is declared in the bride's father's yurt. The bride herself goes to the tent of her closest kinsman, in order to avoid the meeting. At night the comrades of the groom and the assembled women of the village appear at the kinsman's yurt, where they try to kidnap the bride during the feast. A struggle takes place between the parties of the bride and the groom's. The latter almost two parties -- the bride's and the groom's. The latter almost always wins, and the bride is carried on a rug to her father's yurt (this event is called "kyz kashar" -- the flight of the maiden).

/218 cont./

585 Here she is visited by the groom. This visit is limited to conversation and holding hands through a grating in the yurt and is called "kol statar" (to hold hands). The groom gives gifts to the women who arrange the visit.

On the next day the groom pays an official visit to the bride. On this occasion he must ransom himself from various kinswomen of the bride who obstruct his approach. These gifts

291
342
493

Kirghiz /Kazak/ young people. (From a photograph by Bebenin.)

585 are known as "kemp ul'de" (the old woman lost, i.e., an old woman must yield room for a new woman, or "it-irdar," the dog growls, i.e., he /the groom/ must never be allowed to enter, being a stranger), etc. When the groom enters, fat is poured on the hearth. The groom bows to the parents of the bride three times on /219/ one knee ("tyazhm"). The bride usually sits behind a partition of chiy grass (on the left) where the groom is allowed to go. This visit to the bride constitutes the main feature of the wed[illegible] and is called "korpe kiymyl-datar." All the visits and journeys of the groom are accompanied by taking gifts from him. It can be said that the groom cannot take a step without having the bride's kinsmen take a

[431]

585 [431] /219 cont./ gift from him, not to speak of the special and obligatory ones, such as "lyu," the gift to the bride's father and kinsmen, "syuzaky" to the family "for the milk of the mother," etc. The groom continues to come and visit the bride for a certain length of time (a year, sometimes more or less). He brings the remaining part of the bride-money, and livestock as a gift ("toy mal") to compensate for the expenses of the wedding. In addition pieces of felt are brought for the yurt which is put up especially for his visit. The wooden parts are given by the bride in her dowry. The bride is led to the new yurt, and the celebration begins, during which a didactic song, "Zhar, zhar," is sung (literal translation: "concerning two halves"), in which advice is given as to what sort of wife the bride must be. After this the yurt and the entire dowry of the bride are packed, and the bridal couple (the bride in her wedding attire) ride to the village of the groom, accompanied by the bride's mother. Upon their entrance into the tent, fat is poured on the hearth and there is [178] kneeling. The groom's mother reads instructions to the bride and with a short staff raises the veil from the bride's face (a new custom, not known among the simple Kirghiz /Kazak/. After this, a new celebration begins, with games and in particular racing. 585 177 Under the influence of Islam the ritual of marriage takes place after the groom enters the tent. A mullah reads a prayer in Arabic (which, consequently, no one understands) over a cup of water in which a coin is placed and then asks the bridal couple for their consent, gives them the water to drink, and then gives it to all those present, keeping the coin for himself. 585 553 After her arrival in the village, the bride does not have the right to call the men by their names, but must give them new names (a survival indicating the subservient and low position of the woman in the family).

582 Most of the marriages take place when the bride is 14-18 years of age and the grooms 595 75 years old and grooms in the cradle. Although Moslem law permits polygamy for the Kirghiz /Kazak/, it is not widespread since it requires great expenditures and is possible only for the rich. Most of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ have two wives (an old one and a young one).

584 generally visited the girl in secret, without the knowledge of her father.[133] This cannot be regarded as true matri-patrilocal residence, because the groom did not really participate in the life of the bride's family; he only visited the girl's camp stealthily, as a stranger; he had not acquired a social position yet. It was only on the payment of the full kalym that the groom acquired full rights as a husband and the official wedding took place. Then the youth was given his tent, and took his bride to his father's residence, according to the rule of patrilocal residence.[134]

585 872 782 The Kazakh wedding embodied many features of the Asiatic steppe pattern generally. The bride on entering her husband's tent for the first time made obeisance to the fire in the husband's new yurt; and in addition she fed the fire with pieces of fat, a trait spread in the Altaic world from the Kalmuks to the Buryats, and forming part of the general shamanistic fire ceremonial.[135]

852 This ceremonial was repeated among the Great Horde Kazakhs on the birth of the first child, bowing to the fire and feeding it with pieces of fat. However, in addition, if the first child was a boy, it was an occasion for great

---

[133] Radloff, op. cit., I, 477.

[134] Idem.

[135] Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus.

[Little Horde]

584 parted with. Again, if the father of the deceased girl declined to supply the boy with another daughter, he was required to pay back the entire kalym which he had already received,[199] and pay an indemnity in addition.

In the process of making the marriage arrangements, the go-between brought the two families together. The primary concern in these arrangements was the amount of kalym, and the amount of dowry. The kalym was paid over 585 602 a period of years, during the course of which ceremonies to the number of seven were celebrated; the sixth ceremony was held as the bride left her father's residence and was usually associated with the completion of the kalym payments.[200] A part of this ceremony was a mock abduction of the bride and a mock struggle between her partisans and those of the groom, in which a degree of suppressed antagonism was given free expression, both between women and men, and between the two kin groups about to become related by marriage. It was only on this occasion that the groom could move freely in the presence of his wife's elder kinsmen; the taboo on his relationships with them was now lifted. The seventh and final ceremony was performed on entering the new tent of the husband.[201]

---

[199] Balliuzek, 87-88.

[200] Karutz, Kirgisische Hochzeit, 37-38.

[201] Ibid., 39-41; Plotnikov, 131-132, 135.

Marriage. Usually the Kazakhs, especially the wealthy ones, betrothe their children when still very young, that is, not asking their consent, and for the most part they have in view equality of wealth and not equal age. In general, Kazakh marriage has much in common with a civil contract, of course within the crude concepts of this people; the religious element here is only very weakly developed. The most important stages of the marriage are the following ones. Whether the children were betrothed earlier or not, the match-making begins with gifts from the groom's side to the bride's father, and the latter on his part is obliged to reciprocate with gifts to the groom's kinsmen who have brought the gifts. These gifts are called 'kiet'. Meanwhile, if there has been no earlier agreement, the father of the bride, assembling his kinsmen, decides by general council the amount to be paid for the bride, called 'kalym', and the terms of its payment. The kalym may be 120,60 and 40 sheep, depending on the wealth of the families. In addition to the kalym, however, the groom must give 'bas' and ' ayak-yakhshi' (a good head and a good foot). These two gifts, depending on the amount of property owned. are usually 9 camels for the bas-yakhshi and one camel, a horse, a cow and a weapon for the ayak-yakhshi. Earlier the bas-yakhshi consisted of one or two slaves. If the people are poorer, then the bas-yakhshi is one or two camels and horses, and the ayak-yakhshi is a horse, a cow and khalats. Finally the usual bas-yakhshi is a horse and khalats, and the usual ayak-yakhshi is cows, sheep and goats. After this the father sends to the groom's aul for the kalym and receives it according to the following reckoning: for 120 sheep he gets 80, for 60 he gets 40, for 40 he gets 27, because a part is counted as future offspring. The groom first pays the

as future offspring. The groom first pays the